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Social Progress

"Thine Is the Power". . . . . EVELYN LUCHS

In These Years of Decision . . ARTHUR L. SWIFT, JR.

MAY 1950

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DIVISION OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION

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CONTENTS : MAY, 1950

Articles PAGE

"Thine Is the Power," *by Evelyn Luchs* 1

Irreligion and the Churches, *by Dr. Arthur L. Swift, Jr.* 4

In These Years of Decision, *by Vera Micheles Dean* 9

Church and Economic Life Conference—

On the Distaff Side of the Detroit Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life, *by Angeline Gebhard* 17

Labor, Industry, Agriculture Meet for Christian Action, *by John F. Duffy, Jr.* 22

The Liquor Industry Challenges Church and Home, *by Clifford Earle* . . 25

Editorial Comment

An Appeal to Faith 20

Graduate Seminar in the Nation's Capital 29

Sanctuary 30

Christian Action 32

About Books 38

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"THINE IS THE POWER"

By **EVELYN LUCHS**, *member of the National Council of Women's Organizations of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*

PRESBYTERIAN women from forty-seven states, Alaska, and the West Indies, and national guests from a dozen countries of three great continents, will gather at Ocean Grove, New Jersey, June 13-19, 1950, for the quadrennial meeting of the National Council of Women's Organizations of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Nearly 3,000 delegates from presbyterial and synodical societies and registered visitors will be taking part.

The theme of the meeting is "Thine Is the Power." We are hoping to lift and reaffirm the power of God as it is available to his followers in these days and as the only solution to meet the problems we face in our civilization, and to face those forces in us and in the organizational life of our modern age that tend to block the full realization of God's power in the world. Through inspirational addresses, workshop discussions, symposiums, Bible study, and prayer, new directives and new power will be sought so that individual women and groups may be moved to take a greater share in meeting the challenges that face our Church today.

At this meeting members of the Executive Committee of the National Council for the coming four years will be elected. Important policies will be determined and program goals and emphases chosen for the next quadrennial.

The morning plenary sessions will present some of the major factors that prevent us from being good transmitters of God's power. Nationally known speakers and spiritual

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This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS pays tribute to the thousands of Presbyterian women who will be gathering for inspiration, study, and worship at the quadrennial meeting of the National Council of Women's Organizations.

The articles have been planned co-operatively by the editors of SOCIAL PROGRESS, the Department of Women's Work, and the program committee of the National Council. They reflect the basic concerns of our Presbyterian program of social education and action and are presented with the hope that they may be helpful background material for National Council delegates in their preparation for the quadrennial meeting. The contents should be equally pertinent in the months to come when the results and emphases of the meeting take rootage in local women's associations throughout the nation.

***—Mildred Roe**, Secretary, Department of Women's Work,*
***—Margaret E. Kuhn**, Assistant Editor, Division of Social Education and Action.*

leaders will deal with such issues as the rise of secularism in our lives and institutions, social pressures that have a large part to play in such problems as economic conflict, alcoholism, social prejudice and segregation, war and militarism.

On two mornings following the platform presentations, the entire conference will divide into work groups to discuss ways and means of attacking these problems.

For more than a year committees of Presbyterian women have been studying and thinking and praying about the needs of our times. They have decided that the most evident causes for humiliation and prayer on the part of American women lie in the increasing secularization of our lives, and in areas where social pressures determine our attitudes and actions rather than Christian principles.

Around these two concerns of Christian women we shall center our discussions. It is significant that forty outstanding laywomen of the Church have been willing to spend many days in preparation and study for the responsibility of leading these discussion groups. This workshop experience will provide an opportunity for every woman to contribute her own ideas, to get direct answers to questions, and to think through ways of dealing with issues and problems in her own home, her church and community. This method of tackling a problem, providing for group thinking and democratic decision, ought to be carried over into the program of local societies. What happens at quadrennial should be the beginning of a great country-wide chain reaction which will move our Christian democracy at least one step toward the Christian ideal.

The first concern, secularism, means living as though God does not exist at all, living without any sense of ultimate values or meaning. Christianity is the effective challenge to secularism. All who want to create the good life must know and be devoted to the worth of spiritual ideals.

Let me give you a very specific example of secularism from our family. The thirteen-year-old son was doing his homework at the kitchen table as I was peeling potatoes for supper. Suddenly he asked, "*Why* is daddy a preacher?" When I inquired about the question, he said that he was making a graph of comparative salaries and added: "Mom, here are lawyers and doctors at the top, then down at the bottom next to skilled labor is the minister. Don't preachers have to go to school as long as doctors or lawyers?" When he learned that the years of training were equal, he asked again, "Why?" I replied: "Think about it for a little while. I believe you can answer that question." Silence reigned for a few minutes, then an exultant, "I've got it!" With the smug satisfaction of a mother who knows that her child is basically right, I asked, "What is

it?" And he answered, "Daddy never had a chance to make a graph like this!" He reflected with utter truthfulness the society in which he lives: the society which judges all by the almighty dollar!

The insidious thing about secularism is that we have become so accustomed to it that we do not recognize it as an evil force in our lives. Someone has said that secularism is the supporting atmosphere of our culture. If you doubt it, listen to your children and friends as they talk. Note their judgments. Do they reflect a Christian family background and church influence—or their secular environment?

The second set of concerns are the social pressures, those forces which press upon our lives and condition, influence, or determine our attitudes and actions. In the discussion groups emphasis will be placed not so much on further analysis of these social pressures as on what we can do constructively to deal with them as they affect our community. On some of these issues there will be difference of opinion. We will not all agree in our thinking about the advertising campaigns of the liquor interests; or in our weighing of the pressures of the National Association of Manufacturers, or of the labor unions; or in our impression of the United Nations or the influence of the military upon our international policies, but we can with respect for the opinions of others arrive at a composite judgment, the product of many minds. For we are convinced that such a group judgment is sturdier than any individual judgment.

With all our prejudices, peeves, and private personal opinions, we will try to come to the discussion groups ready to discover that "sturdier" judgment. We will come bringing suggestions of practical ways of dealing with problems of social pressures in these four areas in our homes, churches, and communities. Perhaps we can go home from Ocean Grove as salt with just a little more savor to add to the flavor of our community living!

In case there is a reader who says: "I have never heard of a social pressure. I guess that is something which operates in another part of the country," let me give you an example:

In an Ohio town a junior-high-school-aged boy began to come to the Westminster Fellowship. That was all right. But when time came for the group to go to camp even the minister's threatened resignation was not enough to persuade the parents that a Negro boy might accompany their children to the church camp. That's social pressure. Have you seen it in action in your town?

Our democracy will move in the direction of the Christian imperative only as individual Christians who have the human-relations know-how, social intelligence, moral earnestness, and deep conviction act really as salt of the earth.

IRRELIGION AND THE CHURCHES

By DR. ARTHUR L. SWIFT, JR., *Professor of Church and Community, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.*

A Christian sociologist looks at secularism and its wide influence upon our age and our Church.

"THERE'S nothing new under the sun," we've been told. Perhaps nothing altogether new, but, though everything develops out of something else, things do happen that are so different that they change the very character of life itself. The first fire makers, the inventors of the wheel, the geniuses who harnessed steam and electricity in man's service and those who have now released atomic power upon us—all these people have done more to change the atmosphere of life, its tempo and its goals, than did the coming of the ice age in North America, or the ancient Asian Flood.

And religion, in its broadest definition a belief in spiritual power and ways of dealing with that power, has never been immune to change, though it has resisted it more stanchly than any other organization that man has built to help him to deal with the problems of living.

On the Fringes—God

This stanchness lies in the nature and quality of the power of God, in whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning, whose truth endures forever and whose love never fails. Yet the changes that have occurred since the taming of steam and electricity have seemed to push God and the Christian Church from the center to the periphery of daily living. A clever cartoonist summed it up in a single picture: A New York apartment house on a summer's Sunday afternoon. A pair of well-dressed sophisticates leaning from their lofty window ledge to gaze at an open window across the court. The girl remarking: "Those people must be drunk. They're singing hymns!"

We find spread wide across the world as well as in the metropolis the mood and habit of irreligion. It has been happening slowly. But our awareness of it has come as a shock. Perhaps we have been made complacent by the steadily mounting proportion of people who belong to churches and who give money to churches. But we should have noted the steady decline in the number of children enrolled in Sunday schools and the decrease in church attendance. And E. G. Lee, editor of *The Enquirer*, in his recent book, *Mass Man and Religion*, has declared that historical Christianity has failed, and that "contemporary man finds

himself with a morality but without a religion."

What Is Secularism?

This irreligion is commonly known as secularism, the failure, through inability, disinterest, or unwillingness, to recognize the power of God upon man. It ignores the operation of that power in history. It makes no conscious effort to conform either personal or social conduct to the will of God as revealed in the operation of that power. Although secularism is by no means altogether new in human experience, it certainly does show itself with a stronger emphasis and with more varied support than ever before.

The worship of false gods is in some ways less unfortunate than the failure to honor any gods at all. Often our age has been called pagan. But pagans believe deeply in spiritual power of some kind. Our age believes in nothing of the sort. Or believes so mildly as to be really indifferent to religion.

According to the *Ladies' Home Journal* poll published in November, 1948, although ninety-five per cent of the people queried said they believed in God, only fifty-three per cent professed to get a great deal of "comfort and support" from their religion, and "that intimate relationship between man and God, of which deeply religious people write and speak, was evidenced in only twenty-six per cent of the replies."

To pagan societies the spiritual was real and present and important, having to do with every aspect of daily living—with birth and marriage, with planting and harvesting, with hunting and fishing, with weaving and designing, with eating and sleeping, with sickness and death. Among the pagans, unbelief was almost nonexistent. Indeed, there were few secularists.

There is a sense in which, in all history, religion is a phenomenon of crisis. And this is as true of persons as it is of nations. Men turn to God in their hours of need. With security and plenty they are complacent and self-sufficient.

But there are other occasions for the growth of secularism. When prayers are not answered in times of devastating crises, when many of the faithful perish and the power of God upon men is nowhere perceived, doubt multiplies and irreligion spreads like a plague. America stands supreme in its power and wealth. Europe and Asia are prostrate in weakness and poverty of resource. *We* have forgotten how deep is our need of God. *They* have despaired of finding him whose power has not saved them in their need. A chief cause of modern secularism is the growing conviction that the power of God does not operate either to humble the proud or to exalt the downtrodden, that man must depend upon his own knowledge of the good and through his

mastery of nature must strive to attain it. Technological civilization strengthens this conviction, since it seems to promise men what they need without reference to faith, hope, and love—without the worship of a transcendent God. It affords an illusory self-sufficiency and confidence.

The relation of God's will to man's designing remains our central problem, a problem that varies with the realm within which the design is shaped. Always the secular is one aspect, the religious another, of the same reality. The Plains Indians were most shaken in their faith, not by the white man's worship of other gods, but by his ability to grow corn without the planting ritual. That ritual was an acknowledgment of the existence of the spiritual aspect of nature's miracle of life renewed. The failure to perform it did not, as the Indians supposed it would, prevent its operation. Nor did the growth of the corn without ritual prove the nonexistence of the spiritual aspect. It proved only that in nature God is faithful even when man is not.

In the realm of morals the spiritual power operates under great handicap, if at all, when the moralizer, man, denies it access and significance. It is in man's refusal to seek divine sanction for his behavior and so to act as to secure and keep that sanction that irreligion becomes a menace and secularism usurps the whole field of human conduct. And this may occur both in times of plenty and peace and in times of war.

The Church Must Search Its Own Soul

At two points the Church needs to be on its guard. It has always tended among its members to equate membership with religion, and nonmembership with secularism. It is undoubtedly true that many nominal Christians are more secular in their motives and behavior than are those among the so-called irreligious whose lives are deeply committed to unselfish social service. "It is possible," writes John Bennett, "to be closer to God in seeking what God wills while denying his existence than in defending an unjust order of things while praising him." So long as many churches display more unbrotherly racial attitudes than many trade-unions, so long as lingering ecclesiastical narrowness drives sincere thinkers away from Christianity, the Church can criticize secularism only after deep soul-searching. Thus the irreligion of the religious and the religion of the irreligious complicate every effort to define secularism and to designate the secularist as the unchurched.

And this fact leads to the second point of concern to all churchmen, the progressive secularization of the Church itself. In an age in which the struggle for material gain, for power and status, for privilege and pleasure is central, organized religion has vastly extended the scope and modi-

fied the emphasis of its program. It offers, more than ever before, social, educational, artistic, and recreational opportunities which in many instances lack any specific religious orientation. And the hymns and prayers that sometimes precede or follow these occasions seem quite unrelated empty gestures. This "enriched" program of the Church is felt to justify itself because by offering a secularized people the values they crave, the Church may reach them and direct their interests and uncover their needs for spiritual things. In either case the churches devote much time, money, energy, and effort to that which is not centrally the churches' business. Buildings and equipment and staff are constructed to reflect this new emphasis, and to reach people by these secular means. And in protest some have raised the cry, "Let the Church be the Church!"

It is natural and right to turn first of all to the Church itself in our effort to find the nature and source of the irreligion that challenges our faith. And it is unreasonable that we should expect the Church to take bold initiative in dealing with it. But when we say this, what do we really mean? Are we attempting to place upon the shoulders of the clergy the whole tremendous task of reversing a social trend? Surely the responsibility rests as heavily upon the lay officers and boards of our churches, and upon the ministerial and lay members of our great denominational and interdenominational organizations. We have the right to look to them for leadership and direction. But no such sweeping change in feeling and in behavior, no such resurgence of faith as we seek for America, can be accomplished until and unless it becomes a movement of the people, a stirring of heart and conscience that invades office and factory and home.

Reversing the Trend Toward Godlessness

Here lies the great potential of Protestantism. There are about forty-eight million Protestants in the United States. What a revival there would be if even a tenth of us regained for ourselves a sense of the centrality of God in our daily lives! Were any considerable number of us at all successful in strengthening in our family life the awareness of God as a normal and vital part of all the intimate and routine and crucial things that make a house into a home, how seriously we would challenge in our children's adult years the trend toward Godlessness that now discourages us!

Whatever may be the Church's blame for the growth of irreligion in our day, however we may put the fault upon the gadgets and mechanical delights of a materialistic social system, we must admit that the home too has failed. And that failure has been the most basic of all. The family

is the unit, the building block which by its hundreds and thousands must be structured into churches and communities. And no social organization can be strong that is built of crumbling bricks.

Back to the Family Altar

There is no power known to the social sciences that can equal the power of a deeply shared faith in God to unite and sustain the members of a family group. It is urgent that the religion of our generation must be an experience of the family. Here the mother love and the father love, the brother and sister love, are merged and made meaningful in the love and worship of God before whom all alike bow down. The virtual abandonment of the family altar, of prayers at meals and at bedtime, is both cause and effect of the growing indifference to religion in our society.

Religion in the Community Too

Let the Church *be* the Church, in all its activities eager always to bring men closer to God. By every available means, make room for religion in the structure of the community's life, in its education, its work, and its play. Recall the nation from dreams of power and imperialism to the simpler, sounder principles upon which it was established. Do this and more. Yet we shall completely fail to stem the flood of secularism unless we claim and hold the home and family for God. In that task every one of us has a part. But to woman by whose mother love we humans have been taught the meaning of selfless affection, the chief responsibility belongs.

The Mighty Pen

One letter, strong in its simplicity, recently went out to editors and publishers of daily newspapers throughout the country. The immediate, positive response to that letter is evidence of the universal interest in the problems of mental health.

At the suggestion of The National Mental Health Foundation, Barry Bingham, owner-publisher of the Louisville, Kentucky, *Courier-Journal*, wrote a letter to editors all over the United States and its possessions. In it he asked for editorial support in weaning the public away from the use of such outmoded, stigma-bearing terms as "inmate," "insane asylum," "guard" or "keeper," "insane." He urged that, in reporting mental health news, editors throw such words into the discard and replace them with the newer, scientifically correct terminology—"mental patient," "mental hospital," "aide."

Immediately, replies to Mr. Bingham's letter began to pour in. In a brief time there were well over two hundred of them. Nearly all endorsed the change-over from the shameful, old terms to the humane, dignified new.

Editorials were written because of that letter. Columns grew from the sober thought feature writers gave to it. The Foundation's files are bulging with clippings of these editorials and articles. To read them is a heart-warming experience to anyone interested in the problems of mental health.

—*From summer, 1949, issue of* The National Mental Health Bulletin.

IN THESE YEARS OF DECISION

By VERA MICHELES DEAN, *Research Director, Foreign Policy Association.*

THERE has been far too great a tendency in the United States in the past four years to assume that every single problem in international relations is in some way the result of actions—or inactions—by Russia and by Communists in various countries. This tendency has served to obscure discussions of international affairs and grossly exaggerates the true importance of Russia.

In our fear of Russia we have greatly inflated her influence on world affairs. And by doing that we have tended to underestimate our own capacity to affect international relations—provided we know how to use our enormous actual and potential power. We have tended to wait to see what the Russians would do. Once they have acted, we have tried to act against them, rather than to assess with some degree of reasonableness and calm our own responsibility in world affairs and to decide what we want to see done and to define our own positive objectives.

Until Dean Acheson became Secretary of State a sense of historical perspective had been sadly lacking in most of the official presentations of our foreign policy. There has been a tendency to think that all the problems of the world are new, simply because we happen to have come upon the world scene only during and after the Second World War. We have neglected the deeply rooted events that have led to the development of the problems we are now facing throughout the world.

The Facts of Life in Western Europe

Everyone will agree that there has been remarkable recovery in western Europe. That recovery is due to a combination of two factors: One unquestionably is the aid we have extended to sixteen European countries under the Marshall Plan. It is probably the most generous aid given by any great power in comparable circumstances in time of peace, and it has been instrumental in maintaining the momentum of European recovery which had already started in 1945 when war ended.

The other factor is the enormous effort deployed by the nations of western Europe in achieving their own recovery. It is natural that we should insist that our contribution to their recovery be recognized. But it is equally important that we should recognize what Europeans have done to help themselves. There is a tendency among our Congress-

men to think that all Europeans are leaning on their shovels in a sort of international WPA. This is an untrue picture of what is happening in Europe. To me it is a constant miracle that human beings who were so shattered by war, so demoralized and in such a state of mortal fatigue, should have had the strength and stamina and hopefulness to resume their activities as they have done in the past four years and achieve the recovery that has now taken place. Without their effort, the Marshall Plan would have proved about as fruitful as water poured upon the sand.

The striking thing about western Europe is that recovery has been so rapid. What we had expected to do in the four-year period of the Marshall Plan we have accomplished in eighteen months. Paradoxical as it may seem, that is the real reason for the crisis in western Europe. Today it is no longer a problem of reviving production in western Europe. Actually, in the Low Countries, Britain, France, and the Scandinavian nations, production in many branches of industry exceeds the level of 1938, the last peacetime year. This remarkable achievement means that the Marshall Plan may already be obsolete. But it does not mean that there is a high standard of living, because Europe has to make up for vast wartime destruction and for the backlog of production that did not take place during the war years. The Marshall Plan was admittedly a short-term effort to maintain the recovery of Europe. Now we are faced with a long-term program on that continent.

Long-Term Investments Needed

What do Europeans mean by a "long-term program"? They hope that the United States will help to finance large-scale developments in western Europe—dams, public utilities—which require investment of capital not available today in sufficient quantities in Europe. Britain, for example, liquidated a very large part of its foreign investments in order to pay for the war. Many Europeans feel that unless the United States makes such investments, we will fail to exercise our proper role as the greatest exporting and creditor nation of our times. Some of our businessmen say, "Why should we invest under circumstances that look rather risky?" And the Europeans reply: "But look what we did in the nineteenth century. Remember how Britain and France and other countries invested in many areas which then involved great risks."

As a matter of fact, when we consider the Point Four program for underdeveloped lands, it might be well to remember that the Western powers with colonial empires were carrying out a sort of Point Four of their own when they developed some of the resources and gave technical assistance in these countries. Actually the investments of some of the Western powers, notably Britain,

were on a very large scale by nineteenth century standards. Today some Europeans feel that we have not begun to fight, so to speak, in the economic sphere if we think that twenty billion dollars—the approximate cost of the four years of the Marshall Plan—will be a sufficient investment for a long-term program.

Europeans would prefer long-term investments instead of continuation of the Marshall Plan, because the Marshall Plan is closely tied to the purchase of American goods by the ERP countries. Food, machinery, and raw materials especially, have all had to be bought chiefly from the United States. And that accounts for the "gap" or shortage of dollars that we are always hearing about. In a sense, the Marshall Plan, with all its beneficial results, has distorted Europe's trade because Europe never used to import from the United States as much as it has had to in the past four years. Europe would prefer an economic program that would not commit it to such large purchases of American goods.

We Can't Compare U.S.A. and Europe

We have also taken the position that the Europeans could easily solve their economic problems if they would form an economic union; and Paul Hoffman, ECA director, has repeatedly urged the Europeans, in effect: "Integrate or die!" As a matter of fact, we are not sure what we mean by "integration." If we deduce from Mr. Hoffman's October, 1949, speech in Paris, in which he used the word "integration" fifteen times, that Europe would "form an area like the United States, where there are no tariff barriers, restrictions, nor separate, sovereign units," that kind of integration bears very little relation to the realities in western Europe. Western Europe simply cannot be compared to the United States. The immigrants who came here were settling a completely new and undeveloped continent, where there were no contenders for sovereignty aside from the American Indians.

But in western Europe national communities that have struggled over the years to develop their own territories and to protect them from encroachments by other peoples, are extremely reluctant to abandon their own economies today after having just achieved a modicum of recovery unless they can be assured that they will thereby greatly improve their economic condition. And no one can dogmatically promise them that they will really improve their condition that way.

In the United States we do have a balanced economy. We have mineral resources and productive farm lands as well as highly developed industrial areas—Pittsburgh's steel as well as Nebraska's waving grain. And what is western Europe but a conglomeration of little "Pittsburghs," "De-

troits," and "Clevelands"? Britain and France, northern Italy and the Scandinavian countries are all highly industrialized. There are only two countries, France and Italy, which produce food on any considerable scale; and France does not normally export food, and Italy has to import wheat for itself. Under these circumstances, it seems highly doubtful that real integration can be achieved in western Europe in any visible future. The British think that possibly after twenty or twenty-five years certain economic links can be developed between the countries of Europe in the form of customs unions, for example. But we will be greatly disillusioned if we expect all these nations to form a single regional community.

What Does a United Europe Mean?

Other problems are involved in political union in Europe. It always looks easy when you glance at a map to say, "Let them all unite in one political federation." Then come to mind such questions as: "What is Europe to include?" "Is Britain part of Europe, and is she to be a part of the European federation?" The British have always regarded themselves as being removed from the Continent, with commitments to the British Commonwealth of Nations and to the empire. For centuries, Britain's whole policy has been based on the desire to preserve a balance of power on the Continent, and the British today are no more interested in a European union than they were in past ages. So one has to discount Britain in a federation, although she still is the principal market for many of the European countries and in turn is a very important supplier of industrial goods in Europe.

"Is Germany a part of Europe?" If you ask the French this question, they reply that if Britain is not included, Germany will dominate the union—especially if Germany is unified. "Is Russia a part of Europe?" "Or can you exclude Russia from European union?" Russia straddles the Continent; it is both part of Europe and part of Asia. Most Europeans would prefer to exclude Russia because of their fear of Russian domination. But they also realize that if Russia is excluded, Moscow would understandably regard any other combination of nations as a camouflage coalition *against* Russia.

In addition to our demands on Europe for integration, we are also urging the Europeans to improve their production facilities. Our representatives abroad have been struck by the obsolete character of many of Europe's industries, particularly those of Britain. We want the Europeans to change their production methods, their relations between management and labor, the packaging and merchandising of goods. That is all very sound. But some of these changes are tantamount to rev-

olution, and such reconditioning would bring radical changes in terms of social and economic measures. Therefore, another one of our big problems will be to get used to the idea that the continuing social and economic changes in western Europe will take the form of socialism, not free enterprise. At the same time, it is important to realize that our own conditions are very much different. We can accept socialism in Europe without accepting it in this country.

Then too we have been very ready to tell the Europeans, "Take off all your tariffs and your trade restrictions, and make one happy economic family." And the Europeans, looking toward us, ask why we don't integrate with them and abolish *our* tariffs. They ask why we are not ready to abandon our sovereignty so as to fit into the European federation. To my mind that is a perfectly legitimate question, which immediately raises two issues: First, what are we all going to do about sovereignty? We are all very willing to tell other people to give up sovereignty, but the moment *we* have to give it up, it is not such an attractive proposition. Quite aside from theoretical discussions of sovereignty, there is a second and immediate concrete economic problem involved. The United States today is the greatest economic power in the world. No one will dispute it—least of all the Russians. And yet we are still operating on an economic policy of provincial days, when the United States was not an important element in a world economic picture. Free trade came naturally to Britain because she had to import raw materials and coal in order to feed her population. For us free trade comes unnaturally, because we have all the resources needed for modern existence. We are not self-sufficient, but we can maintain a high level of agricultural and industrial economy. We have to force ourselves to import.

Heresy in the Communist Ranks

In eastern Europe, we have a still different problem. There we have no direct influence today, since eastern Europe lies within the sphere of Russia. Although we have been deeply alarmed about Russia's power in that area, actually it is in eastern Europe that Russia and international Communism have met their greatest challenge since 1917. This challenge has come neither from the Socialist democracies of western Europe nor from the United States, but from heresies within Communist ranks—Marshal Tito's Communist government and other echoes of Tito movements in the Balkans. This challenge is changing the whole aspect of eastern Europe, as well as our own attitude toward Russia and its neighbors.

The Tito regime in Yugoslavia is not a revolt against Communism. It is a revolt against the Russian national state and Russia's effort to use

Communism as a weapon in its relations with other countries. Marshal Tito is just as much a Communist as he ever was—and, moreover, he regards himself a simon-pure Communist, much purer than Stalin. It is entirely possible that Tito is going to "start a church of his own," so to speak. This form of Communism has great appeal to Communist leaders who have hitherto been hampered by their alleged ties with Moscow.

Ideologies Come and Go, Geography Stays

Up to now we have tended here to think that Russia and Communism are synonymous, disregarding the fact there are two important elements in Russia's foreign policy. One of these, the policy of Russia as a national state, has developed for centuries and has grown out of the country's geographical circumstances. This national policy has been followed by the czars and picked up by Stalin especially since the last war. And probably this aspect of Russian policy would be continued no matter what government exists in Russia, just as the Labor Government in Britain has continued many of the policies in foreign affairs that have been followed by Tory Governments. Ideologies come and go, but geography remains. And geography has not been entirely altered even by invention of the atomic bomb. The Russians will continue their interest in the Balkan area, the Dardanelles, and the Near East, as well as in Manchuria, Korea, and China. None of those developments are new. We were startled in 1945 by the emergence of Russia as a great power, because we did not know much about Russia before 1917. We thought of Russia in 1917 as a greatly weakened nation prostrated by German defeat.

The second aspect of Russia's foreign policy, the Communist element, has come in since 1917. International Communism as preached by Lenin and Trotsky proved to be a very strong weapon in Russia's armory because it has great influence on the minds of frustrated, impoverished, disinherited men and women all over the world. Stalin departed from international Communism and was regarded by Trotsky and his supporters as a betrayer. Stalin, who can be considered a nationalist, or even an isolationist, has turned to the policy of building Communism in one country instead of the world. He himself predicted as early as 1925 that when Russia would resume its national policy again, international Communism would be doomed. And that prediction is now coming to pass.

Now, of course, the spread of national Communism, as in Yugoslavia, is unquestionably weakening the position of Russia both as a national state and as the fountainhead of international Communism. But it is also confronting us with a very

difficult dilemma: Shall we get along with Communists as long as they don't get along with Russians? Up to now, we have followed the policy of opposing both Russia and Communism. Now we seem to get along with the Yugoslavs, although they read Karl Marx and denounce capitalism. Shall we find ourselves tomorrow in a position to get along with the Chinese Communists? This new situation makes it important for us to define what it is we oppose about Russia and Communism.

What of Our American Role?

It seems to me that we must continue to oppose political dictatorship, with all its paraphernalia of the police state. That certainly seems to be a logical conclusion from our own devotion to democracy. At the same time it is also essential for us to understand why dictatorships have risen in Russia, in China, and in the countries of eastern Europe and the Near and Middle East—among both our friends and foes. We must also understand why dictatorships are rising in our own sphere of influence in Latin America. And, having discovered why, we should be careful to denounce all dictatorships—not just those dictatorships whose economic ideas happen not to fit into ours.

Once we have studied the international situation, I believe we shall come to the conclusion that it is naïve and foolish to expect political democracy of the British and American type in backward countries where people are still illiterate, poorly housed, and suffering from malnutrition. In that category I include Russia and China. We must also ask ourselves whether we are opposed in other parts of the world to separation of Church and State, which we have here and which I assume we shall continue to have and defend. This has become a grave issue in eastern Europe, where an effort is being made by several countries to effect the separation of Church and State, which occurred in England four hundred years ago under Henry VIII, and in France in part during the French Revolution, with final acceptance in 1903. Then too we have to ask ourselves whether we are opposed to agrarian reforms. Just because Communists are making agrarian reforms, are we against them? We have seemed to be against agrarian reforms in countries like Italy, where the director of the ECA at one time expressed the opinion that there should be no land redistribution at the present time for fear of slowing down recovery. Now we see peasants seizing land in Sicily and Calabria; and the Government is yielding to these seizures, recognizing that it has not solved the agrarian problem. This situation has proved to be a boomerang, because the lack of reform is really slowing down recovery.

Because Communists are for industrialization in backward coun-

tries, should we oppose it? Yet until recently many Americans were uneasy about industrialization in backward countries, feeling that, after all, those people could buy our own manufactured products, and stick to production of food and raw materials.

Why Point Four Aid Is So Important

Because all these developments have been tied up with Communism in many countries, we have, by opposing them, often found ourselves on the side of reactionary elements. And this is where we have a marvelous opportunity, through the Point Four program, to regain the ground we have lost. Under Point Four we ourselves are coming out with a broad program of technical assistance for underdeveloped peoples. We are suddenly beginning to see that we cannot even begin to improve agrarian methods or create industries in countries where perhaps 60 or 90 per cent of the people can neither read nor write.

And through our thinking about the Point Four program, we are coming to some of the same conclusions that have long been apparent to native leaders in undeveloped countries who have been urging economic and other reforms. Russia's technical advance from the position of an underdeveloped country has all been achieved at a terrible cost in human life and morale and in waste of materials. We must hope that under our own proposals for Point Four there will be no need for such ruthlessness. But some of the things that have been tried in Russia, that are being tried in China and talked about in India, will have to be done in other underdeveloped countries if these countries are eventually to achieve a better standard of living. And until they have emerged from their present poverty, it is utter folly to expect that they will develop the American form of democracy.

If we can look at the problems of Point Four in this realistic way, then we can hope for the success of the program. And it was particularly commendable that we decided to submit our program to the United Nations, where it was unanimously accepted, with Russia and its neighbors voting for this proposal.

The UN—Foundation Stone of American Foreign Policy

Whatever we do in the future, we must base our policy squarely on the United Nations. We have paid lip service to the United Nations; we have all said it was the foundation stone of our foreign policy. But until now, like other nations, all too often we have automatically reverted to unilateral national action. We are no worse than other nations, but we haven't been much better than others! And the best program we can carry through the United Nations at the present time is Point Four.

CHURCH AND ECONOMIC LIFE CONFERENCE

Two Presbyterians report on the Detroit Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches. As delegates they agree with the significant "Affirmation of Christian Concern and a Call for Action" adopted by the conference which declared that "Christians must judge all economic systems by the imperatives of the Christian faith; Christians must not identify any economic order with the gospel," and that our "technology and vast industrial machines, the riches of soil and of universal wealth, must be regarded as God's gift whereby life shall be more abundant."

On the Distaff Side of the Detroit Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life

By **ANGELINE GEBHARD**, *member of the Presbyterian delegation to the Detroit Study Conference.*

AMERICANS love conferences. They are as typical of the American scene as baseball and Crackerjack. And no one plunges into a conference with greater relish than the Church conference delegate. That was very evident in Detroit where the Second National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life was held February 16-19.

There were none of the earmarks of the typical American gathering. Not a single boring speech. No block-long queue at a President's reception. No annual banquet with its complement of lace gowns and once-a-year orchids! This was a *working* conference.

More than 400 delegates were chosen by 22 denominations. Laymen far outnumbered the clergy there. Occupationally, 33 came from agriculture, 66 from business, 42 from labor, 22 from education, 7 from consumers' groups, and 16 from civic occupations; 15 economists, 30 professors, 17 Government officials, and 25 housewives were also present. There were about 50 women in attendance.

These men and women came to consider together the "Responsibility of Christians in an Interdependent Economic World." They were appointed to "help the churches contribute insights and direction in respect to economic issues and tensions that have vast moral implications."

Excellent background papers were prepared by a preconference working committee of the Department of the Church and Economic Life under

the guidance of Dr. Cameron Hall. It was presumed (hopefully, perhaps) that every delegate would faithfully do his homework by carefully studying these papers before arrival.

The work of the conference revolved around the subjects treated by these four working papers. Their subjects were "The Individual: Conflicting Motives and Claims"; "Organized Groups: Freedom of Enterprise and Social Controls"; "The World: The American Economy in Relation to World Needs and Resources"; and "The Churches: Their Program in Relation to Economic Life."

A full report of the Detroit Conference, entitled *The Responsibility of Christians in an Interdependent Economic World*, is available from the Division of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. It deserves the careful study of churchmen who are concerned that their "Monday religion" is consistent with their Sunday worship.

No document will receive more widespread interest and thoughtful study than "An Affirmation of Christian Concern and a Call for Action in Relation to Economic Life." In brief it asserted that unity and justice must be applied quickly to prevent "the fratricidal struggle of class war on a world scale." Further, "that Christian faith is relevant to the economic order—the gospel is concerned with all the individual and social activities of man. The Christian gospel is not found in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, nor in Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, but in the Gospels and teachings of the New Testament. . . . Christians now live in various economic orders: communist, socialist, capitalist, mixed economies, and primitive society. No economic order known to man is worthy of the designation 'Christian.'

"The hunger of any man anywhere becomes the concern of Christian men everywhere. It is a matter of Christian concern that the per capita income in the United States is ten to fifteen times as great as in areas where children are hungry, health service almost nonexistent, and shelter inadequate."

The conference made it clear that Christians must distinguish between economic planning that means serfdom and planning that contributes to freedom under private enterprise. It added: "Freedom must be interpreted to mean all men, the strong and the weak. . . . The Church has an obligation to become a force for reconciliation, without becoming a chaplain for the *status quo*."

Personalities and Some Observations

Though it wasn't the clergy who determined the progress and course of the meeting in Detroit, one must always except the figure of Bishop Oxnam. By the very dynamism of his

ideas and the force of his person, his influence was enormous. And no one can ignore Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr (though at times one is tempted to!). His lofty ideas are usually couched in such a lengthy, involved style that the nonacademic listener gets lost in a labyrinth of rhetoric! But Dr. Niebuhr can also be direct, to the point, simple and practical, as those who worked with him in a small group in Detroit discovered.

The Detroit meeting felt the impact of ideas from Jerry Voorhis, executive secretary of the Co-operative League of America. This vigorous champion of social justice and economic democracy, disciplined by two terms in Congress, was a fearless and skillful debater.

Few of us had heard of Dr. William Adams Brown, but none left Detroit without chuckling over the drollery and dry wit of the towering Presbyterian from Brookings Institution. The careful selection of facts and figures, the sharp and clearly defined statements and analysis of problems presented in the working paper on *The American Economy in Relation to World Needs and Resources* reflected his skillful direction.

And why do so many speak of "Charlie" Taft? It is a mark of the affection in which this amiable and disarmingly frank leader is held by his fellow churchmen. Charles P. Taft, former president of the Federal Council of Churches, continues to pour his energy into making the Christian Church a force for righteousness in the nation and world. Thanks to him, the press relations of this meeting were of the best.

The real work of the conference began when four laymen addressed the opening (and only) luncheon of the conference. They were Northern Baptist George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks; Quaker H. D. Newsom, of the National Grange; Lutheran Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers C.I.O.; and Protestant Episcopal Noel Sargent, executive secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers.

In spite of the resistance of many churchmen to labor leaders, the Reuther brothers—Victor, Methodist churchman and officer, and his able dynamic brother, Walter—made a profound impression upon the conference. Each bore the crippling evidence of the blast of a would-be assassin.

Quite possibly, the by-products of the Detroit conference will outweigh whatever was said and done there. It brought together Robert E. Wilson, chairman of the Board of Standard Oil of Indiana, and John Ramsay, C.I.O. organizer in the South, an equally earnest and sincere Presbyterian churchman. Both came to do the same thing, to pool their special knowledge, skill, and experience, so that as Christian churchmen they

(Continued on page 22)

An App

WOMEN AT WORK

PRESBYTERIAN women, nearly three thousand of them, from all parts of the nation and from many nations of the world, will gather in Ocean Grove June 13-19 for the quadrennial meeting of the National Council of Women's Organizations. The women of the Church will prayerfully search the meaning of God's power in the lives of men and the destinies of nations. They will analyze the insidious influence of secularism and self-complacency, the social pressures that stifle spiritual power; they will study the movements that menace and challenge God's power, and appraise the spiritual resources of the Church as a force for the coming of the Kingdom.

Exceedingly thorough plans have been made to prepare every delegate for full participation in the general sessions and the forty working group meetings into which the conference will divide. Careful provision has also been made to follow through with programs of increased effectiveness in local churches and associations. This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS deals with some of the questions that will have the attention of the quadrennial. Not all the questions to be considered by the church women could be included in a single issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. The questions will range from foreign affairs to race.

This concern for social issues is not a new enthusiasm of our Women's Associations. The women make up the largest number of SOCIAL PROGRESS subscribers and readers. In fact, the leadership of the women in Christian social action is the most influential factor in the growing awareness of the Christian Church of its social responsibility. Church women are infusing the whole social movement with their wisdom, faith, and compassion. Their present relation to the social action program of our Church recalls the long years of devotion and sacrifice poured out for the missionary cause that in such a large measure accounts for the vitality of the world mission of the Church. We rejoice in the fact that the same unfailing, efficient hands are extending the dominion of our Lord in a "mission" to race, industry, government, temperance, peace.

Our "women's work is never done!" May God richly bless this assembly of those who so abundantly extend his blessing.

to Faith

HOMEMAKING

CHURCH women have played a major part in bringing the homeless poor of Europe to new homes in America.

The D. P. resettlement program has been sadly delayed, largely because of the crippling features of the D. P. Act of 1948 and the unfounded attack of foes in Congress. Thousands of homeless still wait in the D. P. camps of Europe that have been their "homes" for so many wasted years, while all efforts to rescue them are hindered by unjust and distorted reports that the D. P.'s have abused their opportunities and betrayed their benefactors. You can begin an investigation of the charges by first looking up those families that are now settled in your city or nearby community. Ask the Christian churches who have taken in these families. Then consider the report of national organizations. We can expect that this resettlement project involving thousands of families will produce some "casualties." A truly remarkable record of successful relocations is being made. In a joint statement of last December made by three faiths, Church World Service reported less than one half of one per cent failure. These D. P.'s were better than "99$\frac{44}{100}$ per cent pure"! At the time of the joint news release the three faiths had handled 87 per cent of the 110,000 D. P.'s. Out of their experience with that many people, they reported:

1. The opposition of the D. P.'s to all forms of totalitarianism and their appreciation of and support for democracy. The Displaced Persons, who were first enslaved by the Nazis and then made homeless by the Communists, bring with them a deep yearning for liberty.
2. The D. P.'s have rapidly become, in spiritual as well as in social ways, true members of our communities.

One of the major reasons the Displaced Persons are making such a valuable contribution is the careful selection and screening they undergo before leaving Europe, conducted by the Counter-Intelligence Corps of the U. S. Army, the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Consular Service, the D. P. Commission, and other U. S. agencies. The D. P. is interviewed *14 times* before he is eligible for resettlement in the United States.

—*Paul Newton Poling.*

Church and Economic Life Conference

(Continued from page 19)

might help to clarify concepts, explore facts, and contribute helpful proposals that would give direction to the thinking of the churches on economic problems.

The Presbyterian delegates, named by the General Assembly's Department of Church Co-operation and Union, included, in addition to Dr. Brown, Dr. Wilson, and Mr. Ramsay, such worthy representatives as Theodore Smith, president of the Oliver Iron and Steel Corporation; Carl Vrooman, former Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; former Governor Wilbur Brucker, of Michigan; Dr. Paul Work, of the faculty of New York College of Agriculture; Miss Elizabeth Magee, of the National Consumers' League; Emory Bacon, of the United Steelworkers; Dr. John Duffy, of Denison University; and Dr. Paul Poling and Rev. Clifford Earle, of the Division of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. The twenty-five delegates represented widely varying economic interests and points of view.

The "top-drawer" leaders of business and industry were missing at the Detroit conference. They *are* members of our churches, but the Church has failed to challenge them to take a responsible part in group meetings of this sort. It is to be hoped that another Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life will find more of the nation's leading business executives there.

When 27 per cent of the labor force of America is made up of women, one wonders at the dearth of delegates from the ranks of employed women. And since home women dominate 80 per cent of the nation's buying power, should they not have had larger representation in the conference? They might have brought a better balance to some of the discussions that revolved around the economics of production, with relatively little said concerning the equally important subject of consumption economics. Since employed women also represent lower income groups in our economy they might well have deflected some of the concern over surpluses and overproduction, into a concern for underconsumption. More attention might have been given to the ways to use our productive capacity to its fullest by raising substandard income levels and thus increasing our consumption of goods and services.

From Pittsburgh, 1947, to Detroit, 1950

More than a lapse of time marks the difference between the first and second Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life. To be sure, there were still some churchmen who seemed fundamentally to distrust the democratic conference

method and approach. In advance of the conference many delegates had received elaborate brochures implying, by their warning words, that men are not wise enough to deal with economic problems and find solutions that would please God. Grave warnings were sounded to beware of trampling on "the American way of life," the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. Implicit in the documents was the assumption that the issues under consideration were no fit subject for the churchman's concern, and had best be left to those who would properly safeguard the sacred American values. Such fears were born, no doubt, through little knowledge of the nature of our Christian faith or of the spirit, purpose, process, and results of the first meeting in Pittsburgh or the recent one in Detroit.

Detroit moved in a new and different climate. Where conflicting economic interests threatened the survival of the Pittsburgh meeting, at Detroit the common bond of Christian concern dominated persistent economic claims. Where Pittsburgh established the principle that economic life was a concern of the churches, Detroit moved on to probe deeply into the motives that drive individuals and groups, the nature of the economic system in which we operate, and ways in which the system may be guided and used so that it will undergird Christian family life and will provide opportunities for the full and abundant life for all.

Labor, Industry, Agriculture Meet for Christian Action

By JOHN F. DUFFY, JR., *Assistant Professor of Social Studies, Denison University, Granville, Ohio.*

At the recent Study Conference in Detroit sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches, labor leaders, industrialists, civic leaders, and churchmen agreed that more Christian influence was needed in our daily living.

Meeting as members of the Christian Church, the delegates declared that religious principles applied to economic life, and that it was the duty of the Church to be a "teacher of the principles of conduct; a voice of judgment; a guardian of moral and spiritual values already won; and the herald of a better day."

The "Affirmation" challenges the complacency of Christians in the face of hunger in the midst of overproduction. "No true Christian," it states, "is complacent in the face of periodic crises in which millions are denied work, consumers' needs are unmet, and unemployment becomes

epidemic. Unemployed men, idle machines, and unused materials present at the same time and place do not make sense to men endowed with God-given reason. Christian principles must be translated into concrete measures expressive of the Christian ideal."

The statement suggests that Church members should learn the facts of economic life concerning labor-management relationships, labor history, the contribution of unions to democracy, and the significance of trade-unions in elevating living standards and in maintaining freedom.

The delegates agreed to the necessity of a price policy that implements standards of Christian justice. They concluded that it was not realistic to speak "in terms of restoring an unregulated, competitive price system." Businessmen joined with labor leaders and economists in pointing out that some social controls were necessary if the values of justice, order, and freedom were to be achieved. They agreed that economic stabilization was a major responsibility shared by individuals, economic groups, and Government.

"Government policies," they stated, "should also have as their objective the preservation of a dynamic, flexible economy." The use of taxation as a means of reducing inequalities of income that now exist was upheld as "a desirable procedure from an economic and Christian perspective."

They also agreed that the assurance of a "full and equal opportunity for an adequate education" was a Christian responsibility. In addition, it was indicated that "a society seeking to be Christian" had the further responsibility of taking "positive action now to assure all our people, without discrimination, full access to adequate, modern medical, surgical, and other health services."

The delegates supported the United Nations, emphasized that the United States should be concerned about the economic well-being of other nations, that we should increase our imports, and should enlarge our capital investments in foreign countries.

The Church itself was considered at length. It was given the task of developing informed Christian attitudes on economic problems; of investigating facts and human relationships in economic affairs; of providing special education for the clergy, officers, and members of the denominations; of setting an example itself; and constantly pointing the way to a better application of Christian faith to concrete economic situations.

The training of lay persons was also stressed, particularly through workshops, forums, seminars, specific projects, "informal fellowship groups organized along vocational or other lines," or special conferences patterned after the Detroit conference, but held on a local basis.

THE LIQUOR INDUSTRY CHALLENGES CHURCH AND HOME

By **CLIFFORD EARLE**, *Associate Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action.*

A serious facing of the alcohol problem must take account of why people drink. No effort to reduce or remove the problem can be effective unless it begins with a full awareness of the nature of alcohol's appeal to those who use it.

The reasons for drinking range all the way from the symbolic association of alcohol with divine attributes in certain religious rites to the alcoholic's obsession that without alcohol life would be impossibly difficult. Occasional articles in SOCIAL PROGRESS deal with the various motivations for drinking.

A FACTOR of extreme importance in motivating drinking in America is *the almost universal availability of alcoholic beverages.*

There are approximately 450,000 retail liquor outlets in the country—one for every 88 families. Nearly 300,000 of these outlets handle all types of alcoholic drinks—malted liquors, wines, and distilled spirits. About 140,000, including outlets in the "dry" states of Oklahoma and Mississippi, deal in beer only.

Procuring alcoholic beverages in many parts of the country is a simple matter of going to the nearest drugstore, restaurant, or tavern. In monopoly states such as Iowa, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, authorized liquor outlets are located so as to provide maximum convenience for those who drink.

The efforts of the liquor trade to extend and increase the use of its product are well known. Liquor is big business in America. Back of the 450,000-plus retail outlets are more than 20,000 wholesale dealers and approximately 1,400 concerns engaged in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The liquor industry as a whole represents a capital investment of at least $6,000,000,000, and has a personnel of 900,000—about 1.5 per cent of the labor force in America. It is inevitable that an industry of this size should be aggressive in promoting its merchandise.

Advertising

Alcoholic beverage advertising is an important phase of the trade's effort to "glamourize" and sell its product. All sorts of mediums are used—newspapers, magazines, billboards, window displays, posters, radio and television, lighted signs, and direct mail.

Opinion differs among careful investigators as to the extent to which

liquor-advertising really motivates drinking. The probability is that while very few nondrinkers are directly influenced by advertising to use alcohol this advertising does sustain and reinforce the cultural pressures toward drinking which already exist. Its appeal to prestige, virility, and the joy of living, is subtle and powerful.

It is estimated that the liquor industry spent at least $175,000,000 for advertising in 1947. This is 2.7 times as much as the Presbyterian churches of our country spent in the same year for all local expenses and benevolences. Liquor-advertising accounted for 4.5 per cent of the total volume of advertising in 1947.

The advertising of alcoholic beverages is under careful and continuous scrutiny by the Federal Trade Commission. The industry is not free to make extravagant or unwarranted claims for its product or to promote its use in connection with religious or national celebrations. By a "gentleman's agreement," radio stations at present do not advertise distilled spirits. A few newspapers and magazines of prominence reject all liquor-advertising, or sharply limit the number and kind of liquor advertisements they do accept. In spite of these restrictions, alcoholic beverage advertising is pervasive and adroit in its appeal for popular endorsement of the trade it represents.

The liquor industry claims that the purpose of its advertising is not to persuade people to drink or to drink more, but to persuade drinkers to use advertised types and brands of alcoholic beverages. This is undoubtedly true of a large proportion of liquor-advertising. Beyond this avowed purpose, however, attractive advertising of alcoholic beverages is bound to influence the thinking of many people who are called upon to make decisions about drinking.

Taxes

In justifying its extraordinary efforts to increase the acceptance and use of its merchandise, the alcoholic beverage industry points to the fact that liquor taxes are an important source of Government funds. In 1946, when the American public spent $9,500,000,000 for alcoholic beverages, public revenues from this source amounted to nearly $3,500,000,000. In 1947 the receipts were as follows:

Federal Government	$2,361,648,698
State Governments	689,247,049
Local Governments	60,993,899
Total	$3,111,889,646

Federal tax receipts from all sources in 1947 were approximately $39,000,000,000, with taxes in liquor making up about 6 per cent of the total. The alcoholic beverage industry contributed to Federal, state, and

local Governments, through taxes, about $36 for every $100 it received from the sale of liquor.

Public revenues from the sale and use of alcoholic beverages are more than offset by the huge economic waste which the traffic produces. Dr. Benson Landis estimates that the cost of inebriety alone—expenses for hospitalization, the support of persons dependent upon alcoholics, the cost of crimes and accidents related to excessive drinking, the care of drunken persons in jails, plus the potential wages lost because of alcoholism—approaches $1,000,000,000 a year. Incalculable are the losses chargeable to the 60,000,000 drinkers in America who are not alcoholics. Noninebriate drinking, beyond a doubt, is responsible for a vast amount of damage related to automobile and industrial accidents, various kinds of aberrant behavior, carelessness, and loss of efficiency. Liquor taxes, big as they are, do not nearly compensate for this waste.

The fact that tax revenues from the sale of alcoholic beverages constitute an important source of Government income misleads the public as to the real antisocial character of this traffic itself and reinforces its claim for public endorsement and support.

Profit Motive

At the very heart of the liquor industry's efforts to sell itself and its product to more and more customers is the profit incentive. No matter how they are related to the business, men (and women) are in it to make money. The more liquor they sell, the more money they make.

The perfect solution, of course, would be the complete elimination of the liquor traffic and the acceptance by everybody of a nonalcoholic way of life. The prospects of realizing such an all-out solution in the immediate or near future are extremely dim at best.

There are many who feel that, so long as this is true, every effort should be made to remove the profit incentive from the liquor business. For example, the study of liquor control made by the Rockefeller Commission and reported by Raymond Fosdick and Albert Scott in 1933 declared that "only as the profit motive is eliminated is there any hope of controlling the liquor traffic in the interest of decent society.... The private profit motive by which sales are artifically stimulated is the greatest single contributing cause of the evils of excess."

The Bratt system of liquor control, used in Sweden since 1919, was designed, in part, to restrict profits in the alcoholic beverage industry. The manufacture, importation, and wholesale distribution of all distilled spirits were placed in the hands of a single corporation which was limited to 7 per cent annual profit on original investment. Other corporations, limited to profits of 5 per cent, were made responsible for retail sales.

There are some to whom the idea of the association of Federal or state Government with the liquor traffic in any way is abhorrent. This attitude overlooks the fact that the control systems now in operation, the right of any Government to issue liquor licenses or to receive liquor taxes, imply a kind of partnership with the alcoholic beverage industry.

The 1949 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. called upon its members "to exercise their influence as citizens in formulating a program through which profits may be eliminated from the liquor traffic" as a way of removing from American life a powerful motivation for drinking.

Home Influence

In the meantime, the Christian home continues to be the best of all antidotes for the profit-inspired efforts of the liquor trade to increase the use of alcoholic beverages.

A serious (one is tempted to say "sober") responsibility rests upon every homemaker. Let standards of conduct and social practices as they relate to alcohol be determined, not by what others regard as fashionable or socially acceptable, but by moral and spiritual considerations.

After all, every person's influence in his own home, and in his associations beyond the home, is a "social pressure."

Mutual Blessings

Central's adopted Estonian family has arrived! The well-known words of Cornelia, "'These are my jewels,'" in referring to her children, is perhaps the first thought that occurs to us upon meeting Mrs. Ajango and her three daughters. Well may she count them her jewels—the tall, thirteen-year-old Ivi with nimble fingers that mend so beautifully; Ene, a slim, capable girl of twelve, who can iron a shirt like an expert; and fair-haired Hele, the five-year-old, who lends a touch of Old World grace with her quaint little curtsy.

After a rough voyage of ten days on a Navy transport, in a room with some fifteen others, Mrs. Ajango was overjoyed in accomplishing the first step of her objective, namely, a home and security for her children. It is perhaps best expressed in her own words upon arrival at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Perry Campbell, their temporary home, "Now we can smile again."

Each day finds them relaxing a bit more until now they become quite animated upon hearing the familiar strains of a Strauss waltz, and can even enjoy with an appreciative chuckle the antics of the weird parade of masqueraders bent on Halloween fun.

Beneath it all is felt the strength and poise of a mother of indomitable courage, with an almost overwhelming desire to establish the independence of her family, and thus lessen the responsibility of others.

It is truly a joy to welcome the Ajangos to Central, with the sincere wish that we may prove to be a mutual blessing to each other.

—Central Visitor, *Nov. 11, 1949. Published by the Central Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, New York.*

Graduate Seminar in the Nation's Capital

The fourth of the current series of churchmen's seminars sponsored by the Division of Social Education and Action will be a "graduate seminar" on the economic problems that confront the people of our country. It will be held in Washington, D. C., on May 9-12, 1950. Lay leaders and ministers who have attended a churchmen's seminar in Washington are invited to participate in this refresher course in economics and legislative techniques. The seminar will be conducted on an interdenominational basis. Responsibility for planning and arrangements are shared by Mrs. Lillian Watford, legislative representative of the Northern Baptist Convention, and Rev. Clifford Earle, Associate Secretary of the Division of Social Education and Action. Mr. Earle is in charge of the Division's leadership training program and our Presbyterian office in Washington.

The four-day program includes attendance at committee hearings and sessions of Congress, individual appointments and group interviews with Senators and Congressmen, and major presentations and discussion of these economics issues:

I. The Economic Facts of American Life
- *Problems of earning and income distribution*
- *Problems of spending—housing, food, health, costs of living*
- *Problems of the lower-third income group*
- *People vs. property from the Christian viewpoint*

II. Federal Programs Affecting Living Standards. Security for all Americans.

III. International Programs Affecting Living Standards
- *Food and famine (including work of FAO, WHO)*
- *ECA and economic aid for Europe*
- *Point Four program*

IV. The Economic Policies of Government
- *The war basis of economy in U.S.A.*
- *Costs of Government*
- *Taxation*
- *Goals of the economy block*

Persons who wish to register should write immediately to Rev. Clifford Earle, Associate Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Sanctuary

Adoration:

"Eternal and ever-blessed God, Lord of heaven and earth: We praise Thy glorious majesty. Thy wisdom is seen in all Thy works; Thy grace and truth are revealed in Jesus Christ Thy Son; Thy power and presence are vouchsafed to us through Thy Holy Spirit; wherefore we adore Thy holy name, O blessed Trinity, for ever and ever. Amen."

Responsive Reading: Verses from Ps. 145

LEADER: I will extol thee, my God, O King; and I will bless thy name for ever and ever.
PEOPLE: *Every day will I bless thee; and I will praise thy name for ever and ever.*
LEADER: Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised; and his greatness is unsearchable.
PEOPLE: *One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts.*
LEADER: I will speak of the glorious honor of thy majesty, and of thy wondrous works.
PEOPLE: *And men shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts: and I will declare thy greatness.*
LEADER: They shall abundantly utter the memory of thy great goodness, and shall sing of thy righteousness.
PEOPLE: *The Lord is gracious, and full of compassion; slow to anger, and of great mercy.*
LEADER: The Lord is good to all: and his tender mercies are over all his works.
PEOPLE: *All thy works shall praise thee, O Lord; and thy saints shall bless thee.*
ALL: They shall speak of the glory of thy kingdom, and talk of thy power.

Hymn: "O Worship the King All Glorious Above."

Interpretation:

We have been reading of the greatness of God, of the glorious honor of his majesty, of his mighty acts, his righteousness, his great goodness, compassion, and mercy. His Kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. That he has a purpose and a plan for us is evident. God is the source of all power. He has manifested that power through Christ and today would show forth his power in the world through us as channels.

Why, then, do we his followers find ourselves full of fears instead of "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might"? Is it that we have fallen victims to the many "powers" that contend for our very lives? That we live in a "power age" no one will deny. The fact jumps at us from the headlines of the newspaper; the radio blares it; and we experience it in everyday life. Technical power has brought release of time and energy for man but the use of new power has it in the danger of destruction if not controlled properly. So we are in a state of confusion: on the one hand, hope; on the other, disillusionment and despair.

The World Council of Churches in its report on *The Church and the Disorder of Society* declared: "Two chief factors contribute to the crisis of our age. One of these is the vast concentrations of power—which are under capitalism mainly economic and under Communism both economic and political. In such conditions, social evil is manifest on the largest scale not only in the greed, pride, and cruelty of persons and groups, but also in the momentum or inertia of huge organizations of men, which diminish their ability to act as moral and accountable beings. To find ways of realizing personal responsibility for collective action in the large aggregations of power in modern society is a task which has not yet been undertaken seriously."

As we seek the solution to the problems of our times, it becomes evident that not "power" but "The Power" will be the salvation of the world. What keeps us from receiving and using this power of God? The basis of our trouble is our refusal to admit that our responsibility to God stands over and above our loyalty to any earthly community and our obedience to any worldly power. Consciously or unconsciously, we erect barriers that hinder God's use of us as channels of his power. Many of us are lukewarm Christians, and the spiritual poverty of our age is overwhelming. Our overemphasis on material things is another hindrance. The things of the world so crowd upon our lives that the Kingdom is often forgotten until last (if remembered at all) instead of being sought first, as Christ commanded.

Again we find that social customs of our day put such pressures upon us that it is easier to follow the crowd than to stand for one's convictions. We feel that our influence is too small to count for much. We are so imperfect ourselves. "But God does not wait for us to be perfect; he is willing to use very imperfect instruments. What matters is that the instruments should be available for his use. The results of our efforts are not in our hands but in his" (*from* The Church's Witness to God's Design, *World Council of Churches report*).

False ideologies sweep over mankind. Because of these and other tensions there is constant fear of war. If we take it for granted that war is inevitable, we are ruling out the power of God to overcome the evil in the hearts of men; but ofttimes the attitudes that lead to war are found in our own lives—selfishness, hatred, prejudice, the list grows and conflicts increase.

No longer can we delay the removal of these hindrances. What, then, are we to do? Face the issues, acknowledge our guilt, pray for forgiveness, surrender our lives to Christ and abide in him. Then, and only then, will come the fullness of power that will enable his followers to witness effectively.

"Every person has a place in the divine purpose. Created by God in his image, the object of his redeeming love in Christ, he must be free to respond to God's calling. God is not indifferent to misery or deaf to human prayer and aspiration. By accepting his gospel, men will find forgiveness for all their sins and receive power to transform their relations with their fellow men. Thus every man may serve the cause of peace, confident that—no matter what happens—he is neither lost nor futile, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

Benediction:

"Now to him who by the action of his power within us is able to do all, aye far more than we can ever ask or imagine, to him be glory in the church and in Christ Jesus throughout all generations for ever and ever: Amen."

—Prepared by Mrs. John M. Irvine, president, National Council of Women's Organizations of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Ideas That Work

UN-minded

To dramatize the importance of the United Nations as an instrument of peace and world order the Presbyterian women in Ardmore, Oklahoma, planned a concerted campaign to bring the UN to the attention of the community.

- Five merchants were persuaded to permit their store windows to be decorated with photographs, flags, art objects, crafts, costumes, and dolls from a variety of foreign countries. The windows attracted much attention and received very favorable comments. The merchants as well as the church women were pleased with the results.
- UN poster exhibits were arranged in the public schools.
- Books on international affairs and the political developments in foreign countries were displayed and promoted in the public library.
- Local newspapers carried editorials and feature articles on the UN.
- An international program was organized for an evening church service, and was also presented at a Sunday afternoon tea at the Y.W.C.A. Four students attending the University of Oklahoma from India, Estonia, and Greece gave an inspiring program of informal talks, folk songs, and piano music.

Human Rights Vs. States' Rights

The fact that Oklahoma is a Jim Crow state underscored the urgency of a program on human rights, modeled on the "Town Meeting of the Air." The moderator made some opening remarks about sticking to facts and eliminating prejudice, and three speakers presented:

1. Civil rights (as proposed in the Report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights).

2. States' rights. (We have lots of "States' Righters" here, so they were given a hearing too!)

3. Universal Human Rights (the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN in December, 1948).

These presentations were followed by a general question and answer period when our audience aired their views.

A second program gave the anthropologist's approach to the problems of race relations. Our speaker used these two pamphlets as the basis of a scientifically objective talk: *Sense and Nonsense About Race*, by Ethel J. Alpenfels, and *The Races of Mankind*, by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. The movie *Brotherhood of Man* followed the talk.

Successful Synodical Projects

- Helped local Council of Church Women to become an interracial group.
- Contributed $50 to fund to provide Negro Y.W.C.A. secretary in colleges.
- Participated in Brotherhood Week tea with Negro hostesses.
- Gave talks and showed movies on brotherhood and racial understanding.
- Promoted interest and local church action on Displaced Persons.
- Provided speakers on world affairs for church and community meetings.

—Doris P. Woods, Secretary for Social Education and Action, Synodical Society of Oklahoma.

"Roads to Peace"

An interdenominational project in Champaign-Urbana that has been successful and popular has been a series of Sunday night forums to study "Roads to Peace," presenting for discussion and study the various plans put forth by the Quakers, the World Federalists, the Gandhi nonviolent resistance, and what the Church has to say.

Brotherhood Begins at Home

Foreign students enrolled at nearby universities have been frequent visitors in the homes of Presbyterian families. Many more churches could organize such home hospitality projects and make world-wide brotherhood so much more than just a beautiful ideal.

Mrs. Dale Nelson, of Watseka, Illinois, SEA secretary of her Women's Association, engineered a very successful plan last Christmas when a number of foreign students from the University of Chicago were entertained for the Christmas week end in private homes of the community. Students came from India, Holland, Germany, China, and Latvia, and when they all gathered at the Nelson home it looked like a United Nations conference.

—Eva G. Card,
Women's Presbyterial,
Bloomington, Illinois.

Tackling Disorder in the U. S. A.

Before the meeting a large bulletin board was placed in the front of the room on which were pasted current events clippings from newspapers and magazines, including SOCIAL PROGRESS! I began to assemble these clippings two months in advance of the meeting, as soon as I was asked to be chairman. Four numbered tables were set up. As the members of the Women's Association entered the room, each was given an envelope with a number inside.

Group Table No. 1 had the following questions: Is discrimination a threat to brotherhood? What is the situation in our town regarding employment? What groups are discriminated against? Why?

Group Table No. 2 dealt with these questions: Is alcohol a destroyer of personality? Is social drinking on the increase in our town? among youth?

Group Table No. 3 had this question: Is it right to deny full citizenship rights to persons in American territories and on Indian reservations?

Group Table No. 4 answered the following: Are housing limitations and restrictions a threat to family life?

And I took the last one for Group 5: Health Service—is this to be the hope or despair of citizens?

Each group chose a leader, who at the end of the forty-minute discussion period gave a two-minute report of the group findings. At the close of the report period, each member wrote, on a blank page, two or three things that she personally planned to do about upholding the dignity and worth of all God's children. Then the envelopes were addressed to themselves and sealed. Our secertary is keeping them on file.

In Our Community

- We helped to establish a day nursery for colored children whose mothers work.
- Assisted in informing voters on a coming bond election for extension of much-needed sewer lines.
- Conducted a poster campaign to urge Christian citizens to defeat bill for the repeal of prohibition in Oklahoma.
- Organized congregational meeting to consider "Peace in Our Time Through World Order."

—Mrs. Wilbur P. Lee, Secretary, Social Education and Action, Ada, Oklahoma.

There was a brief closing worship service.

—Mrs. Lawrence Barth,
Membership Secretary,
Cairo Presbyterial Society,
Synod of Illinois.

Social Education Begins at the Coffee Hour

The Syracuse Council of Church Women has sponsored an annual series of morning coffee hours during the month of October. Each week some current social issue is presented by an outstanding speaker and discussed by the group. The hostess church serves coffee, and the women of three other churches provide sandwiches. Season tickets priced at $1 finance the project. Approximately 500-600 women regularly attend.

—Mrs. Paul Suiter, President,
Syracuse Presbyterial Society.

A Window in the Iron Curtain

"Above all, our little five-year-old son thanks you. We have to thank chiefly your Christ-life neighborly love for the fact that he is healthy and active; and this we will never forget, in spite of everything we are told here in the eastern zone of the 'other side.'"

This paragraph in one of the letters that we received from the Russian zone of Germany is evidence that there are some openings in the Iron Curtain.

Shortly after the end of the war, several of the students who had seen service in Europe suggested that the Westminster Club at the University of Washington adopt one or two European families and send them food and clothing each month. They decided to buy food and give clothes and to pack their own packages each month rather than simply send CARE packages. Names were secured from a graduate student who had relatives in Germany and the project was begun.

Now eight packages are sent each month—five to the Russian zone of Germany, one to the British zone, one to Japan, and one to Korea. Two hundred and fifty dollars have been budgeted to pay for food and postage, and different students each month are responsible for the packaging.

There is ample evidence of the value of this project, both to the students and to the overseas families. Literally dozens of thank-you letters have been received, some in English, most in German. One family has sent the club a number of beautiful pieces of Dresden china. But the little paragraphs like the one above are the real rewards. We have helped our enemies and found friends.

—Robert D. Porter, Director,
Westminster House, Seattle, Washington.

It All Began with CARE

My husband and I have received a number of beautiful letters from Miss Helena Kowelewska, a Polish girl in a D. P. camp in Germany. Our friendship began last October when Helena acknowledged a CARE package which my husband and I had sent some time before. Helena and her sister have the equivalent of a high-school education or more, speak four or five languages, and have held several fairly responsible jobs; and at a special meeting of our Women's Association we voted to work for the necessary assurances to bring Helena to this country.

We have secured a job at a hospital here and have been offered two places for her to stay, as well as money to get her here and to help her to get started.

Now we hope to find a place for Helena's sister, so that the two of them can help their parents to come here also. We have been unable to sponsor a whole family because of the serious economic situation here at present.

—Mrs. Frederick A. Haas,
Women's Association,
First Presbyterian Church,
Cumberland, Maryland.

CHURCH COUNCILS ALERT TO COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Some councils of churches and of church women are taking a notable part in aiding the children and youth of their communities. Some, it would seem, are hardly awake to what is happening around them. Still others are deeply concerned but have not thought much beyond the more traditional work of the church in providing religious education or promoting wholesome recreation. Others feel a concern for promoting civic or state action—sometimes only on traditional moral issues, sometimes on more far-reaching social problems—but they have not been deeply stirred by the need for direct action by the church in their local situation.

Naturally, the councils with employed staffs can carry on a larger program. But it is evident from the data that effective work can be done on a volunteer basis in small communities.

The majority of the councils of churches with employed staff are co-operating formally or informally with community or state agencies serving children. Not quite half of the councils of church women (nearly all with voluntary leadership) and only a small proportion of councils of churches with voluntary leadership noted co-operation with any community agency.

Probably many leaders of both councils of churches and councils of church women would echo the forthright comment from the Rhode Island State Council of Church Women: "What we need is leadership and training in social action and more church women who know how to attack the whole problem. Nearly all our women serve on community and welfare agencies or work in local societies for our institutions. But too much of it is 'mopping up' after the harm is done. We need some preventive action—and we need to train church women in their responsibility in this area of their religion."

—*From* Information Service, *published by the Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

NEW TOOLS FOR CHRISTIAN LEADERS

Church leaders who want to perfect their skill in planning, organizing, and administering group activities in the local church, and to learn new and creative ways of training lay leadership, are invited to enroll in a workshop on "Group Dynamics in the Life of the Church" to be held July 3-21 at Chicago Theological Seminary. Tuition for the workshop is $50. Academic credit may be secured by qualified delegates. Teams of delegates (two or four) will receive preference over individuals. Send inquiries and applications to Ross Snyder, Chicago Theological Seminary, 5757 University Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Citizenship

After a bitter fight, Administration forces in the Senate won their battle to liberalize the Displaced Persons law by adopting the Kilgore bill as a substitute for the one offered by the Judiciary Committee. The vote on final passage of the measure was 58-15.

As the bill now stands the U.S. will admit 344,000 Displaced Persons, 54,744 expellees of German ethnic origin and

20,000 non-quota war orphans, including those not falling in the Displaced Persons category.

The Kilgore substitute retains the IRO definition of Displaced Persons.

The Senate has asked for a conference with the House to iron out the differences between the Senate bill and the Celler bill passed last session by the House. However, there is some talk that the better strategy would be for the House to accept and approve the Kilgore bill rather than risk possible obstructionist tactics by certain Senate opponents, in "conference."

S.J. Res. 25 Equal Rights Amendment. This bill was approved by the Senate in a compromise form. An amendment was added to safeguard state and Federal laws enacted for the special protection of women, as, for example, those regulating working conditions under which women are employed, mothers' and widows' pensions. The House has not acted on this bill and action may not be taken this session. If approved by House, ratification will be required by two thirds of the states to amend the Constitution.

Federal Aid for Elementary and Secondary Schools. As this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS goes to press the House Education and Labor Committee seems to be deadlocked on Federal aid bills. After voting 13–12 not to report out S. 246 as amended by the committee, the committee voted to discontinue further consideration of the matter until April 17 when it will consider the Burke bill (H.R. 5939) which limits Federal aid for the payment of teachers' salaries, and to set up a subcommittee to consider whether agreement can be reached on a bill for Federal aid to the states for a school construction program. The subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Lucas (D, Texas), will study H.R. 1551 introduced by Lucas, which would provide Federal grants and loans to the states to assist them in providing adequate educational facilities, and give the state authority to decide how to utilize its share of the loans and grants. Some members of the committee believe that Federal aid for constructing schools can be given more readily without Federal control, also that this would sidestep the parochial school issue.

H.R. 7797—Foreign Economic Assistance Act of 1950. After a week of controversy, on March 31 by a vote of 287–86, the House passed a bill to provide economic aid to nations resisting Communism. The measure continues the Marshall Plan (ECA), authorizes contributions to the UN for helping Arab refugees in Palestine, economic aid to Korea, assistance to China and Southeast Asia at the discretion of the President, and permission for U.S. technical assistance for the economic development and social progress of underdeveloped areas of the world (Point Four program).

The total appropriation of $3,102,450,000 was $270,000,000 less than the Administration wanted, and cut $20,000,000 from the $45,000,000 requested for the Point Four program. But it was passed without two crippling amendments opposed by the Administration. One would have committed $1 billion of the total funds for the purchase of farm commodities in this country and the other would have halted aid to Britain while Ireland remained partitioned.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved a companion bill (S. 3304) without the Point Four program, but has since approved this program in the form of an amendment to the bill. However, the Senate amendment places sharp curbs and limitations on the program. Senate action is expected the latter part of April. After the Easter recess the House will start debate on the omnibus appropriations bill to authorize funds for the programs in H.R. 7797. More controversy is expected.

H.R. 7402 and S. 2246—Middle Income Housing Bills. Passed by the Senate on March 15, 1950, to further the construction of housing for middle income

groups, but only after striking out provisions for Federal long-term, low-interest loans to co-operatives and nonprofit organizations. The amendment against housing loans to co-ops was proposed by Senator Bricker (R, Ohio) and adopted by a 43–38 vote.

S. 2311, Subversive Activities Control Act, 1950, introduced by Senators Mundt and Ferguson, would make it "unlawful for any person knowingly to combine, conspire, or agree with any other person to perform any act that would substantially contribute to the establishment within the U.S. of a totalitarian dictatorship controlled by a foreign organization or Government . . . or for an employee of the U.S. to communicate with foreign representatives or agents"; and require the registration of Communist organizations. This bill has been favorably approved by a unanimous vote of a subcommittee on the Senate Judiciary Committee.

S. Res. 202, measure authorizing investigation of interstate gambling and racketeering activities, was submitted by Senator Kefauver (D, Tenn.) to the Senate Judiciary Committee and reported by committee with amendments to the Senate Committee on Rules. The investigation seeks to determine the "adequacy and effectiveness of present Federal statutes relative to crimes involving interstate commerce, the extent to which organized crime may corrupt the governing bodies of the nation, and the extent to which crime syndicates may control the facilities of interstate commerce."

THE TESTIMONY OF OUR CHURCH

Public hearings on the Langer Bill (S. 1847) to provide interstate restriction on liquor-advertising were held in Washington, D. C., January 11 and 12, 1950, by the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Miss Fern Colborn represented the Division of Social Education and Action and submitted the following statement summarizing the stand of the 161st General Assembly:

"At the 161st General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., held in Buffalo, New York, in May, 1949, this official body, representative of over 8,500 local churches, again voted many recommendations to bring about a solution to the alcohol problem. These recommendations included again the statement that liquor-advertising should be controlled.

"This official body stated that 'alcohol continues to be a major social problem in the nation. All too frequently the integrity and stability of the family are tragically undermined by the effects of alcohol on the personalities of individuals within the family circle. Because of these personal and social effects of the local liquor traffic, we recommend that our Church constituency move with increasing rapidity toward the solution of this problem.'

"It should be further recognized by the members of this committee that the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has been officially opposing liquor-advertising since 1915."

Social Education and Action Secretaries, Please Note!

Urge your Women's Association to order copies of this May issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS at these special quantity rates so that a copy may be sent to every member of your Association:

5-10 copies—10 cents each
11-24 copies—8 cents each
25 or more—6 cents each

About Books

Alcohol and Social Responsibility, by Raymond G. McCarthy and Edgar M. Douglass. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $3.50.

The alcohol problem tends to get worse before it gets better. A sizable literature has come from the presses in recent years quite different from the usual publications of temperance organizations of some time ago. This new literature tries to be objective, scientific, and accept the principles and methods of education as a valuable ally in solving the alcohol problem.

Alcohol and Social Responsibility is typical of the new alcohol education literature, but is designed to fill a role that has remained unoccupied until the present. The book might be called a text for senior-high-school and college students, although it is good reading for the nonschool person who wants to understand the alcohol problem and how to work toward its solution.

Dr. McCarthy represents the research point of view, and Edgar M. Douglass is the practical teacher. McCarthy has long been connected with the Yale Clinic for the treatment of alcoholics. His findings from Yale University Library of Applied Physiology concern the historic background of drinking, social controls, alcohol and society, the individual and alcohol, and social responsibility. About every fact that is of consequence to a knowledge of the alcohol problem is contained in the reports of this research. However, the statistics are marshaled in a very readable fashion, without such a popular presentation as to raise questions about reliability.

Mr. Douglass, an educator of long experience, has taken the findings of research in alcohol education and has described a plan for making these available to schools. Educators have a responsibility on this matter. The school can have a program, and there is a way to organize teaching about alcohol. The book leans toward the problem-solving method instead of the strictly factual presentation. Young people are not so concerned about the alcohol content of the various beverages or the problem of alcoholism as they are about what alcohol will do to them if they drink it. The book also records experience in some of the states where a program of alcohol education is being conducted by the state. It would seem that churches and public schools would want this book immediately in their libraries.

—*Earl F. Zeigler.*

The Gospel and Our World, by Georgia Harkness. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. $1.50.

"The very thing for which the Church exists, the proclamation of the gospel, is being in our time so feebly done," challenges Miss Georgia Harkness in her book *The Gospel and Our World.* For this reason our churches have not changed the lives of their members and effected a better social order.

Does the Christian gospel have within it that which will satisfy man's deepest needs? The author's answer is very clear. "What modern man is looking for . . . is dependable sources of inner satisfaction." Jesus is the pattern and the power. If one is willing to pay the price of obedience and moral surrender, God can give a new center for the soul. We have erred in not putting enough accent on the fact of sin, the need for repentance, and faith in the "saving grace" of God. Man today desperately needs a faith to live by and liberal Protestantism has not given it to him.

Miss Harkness compares how the gospel is being proclaimed by different types of Churches—the Roman Catholic, the fundamentalist Protestant, and the liberal Protestant—and makes the point that the Catholic and the fundamentalists have been able to instill more personal religious vitality. Liberals need not give up the search for truth, but need to give more emphasis to some of the principles and practices of the others: an undergirding faith, a more meaningful worship experience in churches, instruction and participation of children in worship, more participation, more commitment required of laymen.

What can the ministers do to improve the proclamation of the gospel? The answer is more attention to principles that have most to do with man's spiritual development: repentance, understanding of prayer, Christian explanation of unmerited suffering, and the Christian interpretation of death.

Miss Harkness draws an accurate and vivid picture of the average layman, who fails to see what Christianity means to the daily job. If Christianity is to affect society, it must be through laymen. For their revitalization, she suggests the forming of small discussion-fellowship-study groups. The Kingdom of God is defined by Miss Harkness as the righteous and triumphant rule of God over a redeemed society. In a measure, it can be obtained, and is, on earth. However, because of the pervasiveness of sin, we must labor with greater earnestness than we have to perpetuate the Kingdom and to make it possible for even our society to continue.

Much has been written about a social gospel that bears on political and economic action, but the author fears that it is read only by seminary professors and ministers. Unfortunately this criticism could also be made of this volume. Some real weaknesses in liberal Protestantism and suggestions for correcting them have been pointed out, but her book will appeal more to ministers than to her average layman, Mr. Brown.

—*Lenore L. Upson.*

Day of Judgment, by David Cushman Coyle. Harper & Brothers. $3.00.

Mankind, having come face to face with the possibility of its total destruction, has arrived at Judgment Day. David Cushman Coyle, engineer-economist, presents a stimulating discussion of the material and spiritual problems we must solve if we wish to continue along the "slippery path of liberty" toward freedom and national well-being.

Americans are by no means clear about the threat to our political democracy that is inherent in the increasing totalitarian control of our economic life by big enterprises, which continue to grow ever bigger in spite of antitrust legislation. It is doubtful if many of us know much about the basing point system of the steel or cement industries or understand its implications, but if we are to defend our free system, we had better hurry up and learn.

There are many other challenges to our thinking in this small book. Big and powerful organizations do not have an inalienable right to liberty and freedom of action—"the big cannot be free." Neither are big operations generally more efficient than smaller ones. What a challenge that is to our current notions! "The 'American way of life' thrives where business is small, and blights where it is big." Efficiency in profit-making is by no means the same thing as efficiency in production. Higher living standards abroad will not guarantee a market for our goods. The world must get along one quarter free and three quarters slave for years to come. World government with one strong military force is not possible until all danger that such a force may fall into the hands of a totalitarian power is past.

In examining domestic politics, Mr. Coyle points out advantages to democracy of a tweedledum and tweedledee two-

party system, and even argues the stabilizing effect of our electoral college if traditionally used. Foreign trade, "strategic" planning, conservation of resources, tariff policy, the Malthusian law, and the extension of our Monroe Doctrine to Europe are all dealt with in stimulating fashion. Mr. Coyle does not stop with these materialistic considerations. He points out that science today actually repudiates materialism. He describes the role of the Church and the teachings of Jesus in giving our culture a theory of democratic rights.

—Rebecca G. Smaltz.

For Your Pamphlet Shelf

Know Your Town Government, published by League of Women Voters, Washington, D.C. 25 cents.

As the scope of local government becomes larger and its talk more technical, it becomes increasingly important for people to take their citizen responsibilities seriously. In this pamphlet, the League of Women Voters has provided an excellent guide for local Leagues—and for other groups—to make a study of their town and its government. All phases of town government are covered in twelve brief outlines consisting of a series of key questions, many of which most citizens would find it difficult to answer, alas. Where to find the answers, how to interview busy public officials, and, finally, to what specific use the results of such a survey can be put are included in this compact handbook. This is an effective tool to help to implement the League's purpose of encouraging citizen participation in government.

—Rebecca G. Smaltz.

Eastern Europe Today, Emil Lengyel and Joseph C. Harsch. Headline Series, No. 77, Foreign Policy Association. 35¢.

This pamphlet deals mainly with the land and the people, the "peoples' democracies," economic problems, and international problems. Mr. Harsch asserts that there is still a fund of good will among the people of eastern Europe for the United States and a strong longing for real and lasting peace. The Soviet Union, he believes, will probably be unable to solve the economic problems of the region, but sending "American capital and know-how" as part of the terms of a settlement among the Big Three could help to bring peace and prosperity. With eastern Europe constantly in the news, the background material and the look ahead given here are vital for informed citizens.

—Dorothy Groeling.

Point Four and the World Economy, J. B. Condliffe and Harold H. Hutcheson. Headline Series, No. 79, Foreign Policy Association. 35 cents.

This pamphlet presents concise and informative facts about the obvious "economic unbalance of our world" and the equally obvious steps that must be taken to help deprived and depressed peoples and nations to help themselves to new levels of economic and educational development. The authors remind us that the major disputes in Iran, Greece, Indonesia, Korea, Israel, and now China have occurred in places where the people are hungry, politically unvocal and restive; and two thirds of the earth's population live in underdeveloped areas! The pamphlet outlines the technical assistance program of the UN and how the United States can participate in this program with its vast resources and technical knowledge. Research, demonstration of new and improved methods of soil use, industrialization, medical care and education, on-the-job training of personnel from other countries, and exchanges of teachers and students are suggested elements of this program—really an extension, on a world-wide scale, of what the churches have been doing in their mission fields.

—Margaret E. Kuhn.

Watch for Our Social Pronouncements!

The 162d General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. will convene in Cincinnati, Ohio, May 18-24, 1950. Send for free copies of the *Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action,* which will be adopted by the General Assembly. Make these available to church officers, men's and women's groups, Sunday school and young people's leaders in your church.

New Campaign to Make the World World-conscious

Our Church supports the United Nations because it is a means whereby our nation may work with other nations in achieving world community and world order. The powerful influence of Christians cannot be overestimated in world affairs. It was evidenced at San Francisco when the United Nations charter was adopted. It was also the motivating force in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

At the request of the United Nations, the women of our Church are sharing in a world-wide effort to enlist the homemakers of the world in the practice of the principles that are basic to the health, security, and well-being of all people and the foundations of permanent peace. The poster reproduced on the back cover will be translated into foreign languages and distributed through the Foreign Board centers of the Presbyterian Church to member nations in the United Nations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Scriptural benediction on page 31 is from *The Bible: A New Translation,* by James Moffatt. Used by permission of Harper & Brothers, publishers.

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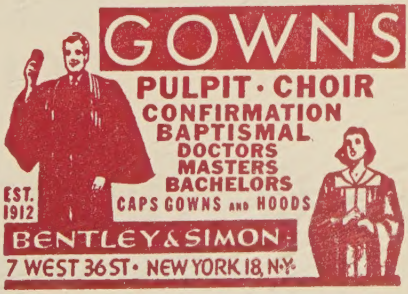

WE CARRY THESE PRINCIPLES INTO COMMUNITY AFF

UNESCO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

We respect the rights of each member of the family

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

We eat wisely and conserve food

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

We attack causes of sickness

OUR HOME IS DOING THINGS THE UNITED NATIONS WAY